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XVIII.—A LITERARY LINK BETWEEN THOMAS SHADWELL AND CHRISTIAN FELIX WEISSE.

Witchcraft in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a subject upon which the dramatists from Marlowe to Shadwell seized with the greatest avidity. There was material of the most pliable sort; it could be moulded into a magnificent tragedy or distorted into the wildest buffoonery. In the sixteenth century it was the darker side of magic which we find in the drama, and though we note as early as 1604 the effort to brighten up Marlowe's tragedy of Doctor Faustus by the introduction of broadly comic scenes taken from the prose tale, yet one can well believe that the theatre audiences from 1590 to 1610 remembered too vividly the cruelties of the witch trials in 1590 to appreciate the buffoonery of Ralph in the comic scenes as deeply as they felt the dark despair of the protagonist Faustus.

“Ah Faustus,
Now hast thou but one bare hour to live,
And then thou must be dam'nd perpetually :
Stand still, you ever-moving spheres of heaven,
That time may cease, and midnight never come ;
Fair Nature's eye, rise, rise again, and make
Perpetual day ; or let this hour be but
A year, a month, a week, a natural day,
That Faustus may repent and save his soul !”

In such lines is found the keynote to the *Stimmung* in which the audiences at the Curtain left a performance of the *Tragical Life and Death of Dr. Faustus*, in 1594. The bibliography of this Faustus story in its prose form from 1592 to 1692 has never been adequately presented, and as it is with the humbler form of the Faust literature, and the

lower classes of society, *das Volk*, that this article deals, the following remarks seem in order. Between the years 1592 and 1692 the Faustus legend is referred to seventeen times in English literature (and I do not include the various quarto editions of Marlowe's drama which appeared within those dates). Perhaps a still better criterion of the popularity of the tale is found in the fact that quarto editions of the prose book (English Faust Book of 1592) appeared in 1608, 1618, 1622, 1626, 1636, 1670, 1680, 1682, 1690 and 1700. In 1663 came out a rhymed version of the story, in 1664 another edition of the same, and between 1650 and 1696 a curious little duodecimo prose edition. But this is not all.

Before Marlowe's drama was played at the Curtain by the English actors upon their return from the continent in 1594, the English Wagner Book appeared (licensed in 1593), and in it the common people read a dramatic description of Faustus's death which deserves more notice than has hitherto been accorded it, because of the admirable description therein of the stage hell-mouth. (So far as I know it is not mentioned by any writer upon the pre-Shakesperian stage.) The passage occurs in the tenth chapter, and the latter part of it reads as follows :—

"When *Faustus* hauing long raged, of a suddaine howling lowde, and tearing his haire, laid both his arms uppon his necke, and leapte down headlong of the stage, the whole company immediately vanishing, but the stage with a most monstrous thundering crack followed Faustus hastily,¹ the people verily thinking that they would haue fallen uppon them ran all away, and he was happiest that had the swiftest foote, some leapte into the Riuer and swam away, and all of them with great affright ranne into the Citty and clapt the Citty gates together, streight, and to increase this fear they thought they hard a thing fall into the river as if a thousand houses

¹ Cf. Middleton's *Blacke Booke* (1604), page 13 : "he had a head of hayre like one of my Diuells in Doctor Faustus, when the olde Theater crackt and frighted the Audience."

had fallen down from the toppe of Heaven into it. But afterwards this was knowen to be *Wagner's* brauery, who did this to shew the Purceuaunt some point of his skill." ¹

Now this English Wagner Book was printed *twice* ² in 1593, then nothing more is heard of it for a hundred years. At last we see it pop up again in an edition which appeared sometime between 1670 and 1680 (the date on the quarto is unreadable), as the second part of the 1670 (*circa*) Faust Books, again in 1680 and still again in 1682.

Just at this time (1680–1690), when the legend of Faustus in the prose form was so popular, the handsome young actor, Will Mountfort, took the materials found in Marlowe's drama and the prose tale, and shaped them into a farce which he entitled "*The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*. Made into a Farce by Mr. Mountford, With the Humours of Harlequin and Scaramouche, As they were several times Acted, By Mr. Lee and Mr. Jevon, . . ." etc. This quarto edition of the farce was printed in 1696; but as the text contains a pointed reference to the Edict of Nantes, and as Jevon died in 1688, it must have been first acted, I judge, about January, 1686. On March 1, 1686, the quarto edition of the farce *The Devil of a Wife* appeared, written(?) by the same Jevon who had played *Harlequin* in his friend Mountfort's farce of *Dr. Faustus*. Some weeks ago the present writer came across a first edition of Jevon's farce, and the striking similarity between the atmosphere of the two farces led him to an investigation of Jevon's and Mountfort's biography; and the first authority consulted was Langbaine, a contemporary of the two actors, who describes Jevon as follows:—

¹ Copied from the original 1594 text in the Bodleian. Thoms' reprint of the Wagner Book is inaccurate.

² Bibliographers mention only one edition: but I found two in the Bodleian.

"A Person lately dead and one sufficiently known to all that frequent the Theatre, both for his excellency in Dancing and Action. He has writ a Play, or rather Farce, call'd *The Devil of a Wife*, or *A Comical Transformation*. This farce is founded on a Tale as well known as that of *Mopsa*, in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*; tho' I think if compar'd with our *French* Farces so frequent on our English Stage, it may deserve the Preheminence,"¹

The words, "This farce is founded on a Tale as well known as that of *Mopsa*, in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*," have been misquoted by Baker² and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, who state that the farce is said to be founded on the tale of *Mopsa*. There is no resemblance between the latter story and the plot of Jevon's farce. What the source of *The Devil of a Wife* was will be brought out a little later. Baker goes on to say that "it was imagined that Mr. Jevon had some assistance in it from his brother-in-law, Thomas Shadwell." This statement, based no doubt upon Whincop's assertion in 1747 of the same fact is, I shall try to show, quite correct and of considerable importance.

Thomas Jevon is first mentioned in the stage records as acting a part in his brother-in-law's comedy, *The Incharnted Island* in 1673.³ In the same year also he played the rôle of Osrick in *Hamlet*. In 1674 he acted in Settle's *Conquest of Chine by the Tartars*, playing probably Legogim. In this comedy he was to fall on the point of his sword and kill himself, instead of which he laid the sword in the scabbard, placed it on the ground, and fell on it, saying, "Now I am dead," a trick which much enraged Settle, the author of the drama. Other rôles which Jevon impersonated were, Young Bellair, in *The Man of Mode* (1676); Sneak, in Shadwell's

¹ *An account of the English Dramatick Poets*, etc., by Gerard Langbaine, Oxford, 1691.

² *Biographia Dramatica*.

³ Genest: *Some Account of the English Stage*, etc. Vol. I.

Fond Husband (1676); Henry Jollyman, in D'Urfey's *Madam Fickle* (1676); Agrippa, in Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1677); Don Antonio, in Mrs. Behn's *The Rover* (1677); Avaritio, in T. P.'s *French Conqueror* (1677); Eumenes, in Pordage's *Siege of Babylon* (1677); Capet, in Otway's *Friendship in Fashion* (1678); Poet, in Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* (1678); Escalus, in Tate's *Loyal General* (1680); Cinna, in *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (1680); Sir Frolock Whimsey, in D'Urfey's *Virtuous Wife* (1680); Trickwell, in Mrs. Behn's *Revenge* (1680); Usher, in Tate's *King Lear* (1681); Fabritius, in Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus* (1681); Fourbine, in Otway's *Soldiers of Fortune* (1671); Foppington, in Mrs. Behn's *City Heiress* (1682); The Duke of Mayenne, in Dryden and Lee's *Duke of Guise* (1682); Swordsman, in Fletcher's (?) *King and no King* (1683); Gillet, in Ravenscroft's *Dame Dobson* (1684); Furnish, in the *Faction Citizen* (1684); Widgine, in Brome's *Northern Lass* (1684); Cinna the Poet, in *Julius Caesar* (1684); Quicksilver, in Tate's *Alderman no Conjuror* (1685); Franvil, in D'Urfey's *Commonwealth of Women* (1685); Harlequin, in Mountfort's *Dr. Faustus* (1686); Jobson, in *The Devil of a Wife* (1686); Frisco, in D'Urfey's *Banditti* (1686); Bearjest, in Mrs. Behn's *Lucky Chance* (1687); Harlequin, in Mrs. Behn's *Emperor of the Moon* (1687); The elder Belford, in Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia* (1688); a Soldier, in Mountfort's *Injured Lovers* (1688); and lastly Toby, in D'Urfey's *Fool's Preferment* (1688). Jevon died December 24, 1688, aged thirty-six.

Jevon, then, began his stage career at the age of twenty-one with the minor part of Osric in *Hamlet*, and was on the boards for fifteen years, acting various rôles, from Cinna the Poet to Harlequin the clown; and it is noticeable that the older he grew the more frequently did he play low

comedy rôles (and with great success). *The Devil of a Wife* was the only play Jevon wrote, the biographers say, and the question naturally suggests itself; how did this professional comedian happen to write that one farce at that particular time? It seems to me that the answer is found in these three facts: namely, that his brother-in-law Shadwell had written no play since 1681 and wished to get in another dig at his opponents; secondly, that Shadwell saw his way to do this under the disguise of Jevon's name; and thirdly, that Jevon himself, familiar with the rôle of the low comedian and also that of the mischief-making conjuror, decided to emulate his friend Mountfort's success as a writer and try his hand, too, at that most popular of all forms of drama, the farce. The earliest edition of the farce (licensed March 30, 1686) bears the following title-page:—

The / Devil of a Wife, / or A / Comical Transformation. /
 As it is Acted by their *Majesties* / Servants at the Queens
 Theatre in / Dorset Garden. / Veni, Vidi, Vici. / Licensed
 March 30th 1686. R. L. S. / London, / Printed by J.
Heptinstall, for J. *Eaglesfield* / at the *Marigold* over against
 the *Globe-Tavern* in / Fleet-Street. MDCLXXXVI.”¹

The *verso* of the title-page is blank. Then follow two pages devoted to “The Epistle Dedicatory To my Worthy Friends and Patrons at *Lockets* Ordinary,” signed “Tho. Jevon.” Two pages and a half are then given to the Preface, one and a half to the Prologue, “spoke by Mr. Jevon,” and then follows “The Actors Names” in this order:

¹A copy of this text is in the library of Mr. Hiram Bingham, Princeton, N. J., and another in the Harvard Library, while the Boston Public Library possesses copies of the 1693 and 1695 texts.

Men.

Sir Rich. Lovemore } An honest Country Gentleman belov'd { *Mr. Griffin.*
for good old *Engl.* Housekeeping.

Rowland } Sir Richard's two Friends. { *Mr. Bowman.*
Longmore } { *Mr. Peryn.*

Butler } { *Mr. Saunders.*
Cook } Servants to Sir *Richard.* { *Mr. Percyval.*

Footman } { *Mr. Low.*

Coachm.

The Ladies Father. *Of the old Strain: A Phanatick.* *Mr. Norris.*

Noddy } A Hypocritical Phanatick Parson, loves to eat and { *Mr. Powel.*
cant, Chaplain to my Lady *Lovemore.*

Jobson } A Psalm-singing Cobler, Tennant and Neighbour { *Mr. Jevon.*
to Sir *Richard.*

Doctor. A Magitian. *Mr. Freeman.*

Nadyr } Two Spirits.
Abysmog }

Countryman.

Blind Fiddler.

Footboy.

Women.

Lady Lovemore } Wife to Sir *Richard.* A Proud Phanatick, al-ways canting and brawling. A Perpetual { *Mrs. Cook.*
Fixen and a Shrew, (a blessed Wife).

Jane } Lady *Lovemore's* Maids. { *Mrs. Price.*
Lettice } { *Mrs. Twyford.*

Nell—*Jobson's* Wife, a simple innocent Girl. *Mrs. Percyval.*

Tennants, Servants, Dancers, Singers, Wassalers.

The text proper then begins, consisting of fifty-four pages, divided into three acts, and ending with a prologue of two pages, spoken by Mr. Jevon and Mrs. Percyval.

A short summary of the plot now follows. *Jobson*, the psalm-singing cobbler, tells his wife *Nell* that he has made an appointment for a convivial evening with the *Butler* at Sir *Richard Lovemore's* house. *Nell* pleads to be taken with him, but he orders her to stay at home, giving her six pence spending money. Scene 2 shows the servants at the Hall place gathered for the evening's amusement, and gossiping about the termagant character of their Lady and her disagreeable non-con parson, *Noddy*. *Noddy* then enters

and orders a hearty meal, as he "feels as it were a strange kind of emptiffulness, I have not eat these two houres." Declaiming against Christmas "Pyes" and Christmas customs, the non-con orders a bottle of sack, a bottle of ale, and a bottle of March beer, hoping by this refreshment to hold out till supper. The servants retire, vowing to get even with him that night. A blind fiddler, Jobson, and others enter and commence singing a drinking song, whereupon Noddy attacks the musicians, but in turn is roughly handled by the servants, whereupon he steals out. Scene 3 discovers Lady Lovemore uttering a tirade against her gentle husband for his hospitality toward his neighbors and servants. Noddy complains to the Lady of his rough treatment and my lady abuses the blind fiddler for his music, but Sir Rich. pays the fiddler handsomely and kindly dismisses all. At this juncture the Butler announces the arrival of a "Doctor" who desires lodging for the night. Sir Richard has to refuse his request for that evening, but directs him to a cobbler's house down the lane. Noddy then comes in and drinks deeply of a huge bowl of strong punch set there purposely for him by the servants. He at once becomes tipsy, and upon the servant announcing supper he staggers out to say grace at the table with my lord and lady. Scene 4 takes place at the cobbler Jobson's house, where the Doctor and Nell are discovered in conversation, the Doctor promising Nell that for her kindness to him she shall on the morrow be wearing silks and purple and be a fine lady. Jobson then enters, thrusts out the "cunning" man, and beats his wife for her neglect of her work. Scene 5 changes to the open country, where the doctor conjures up his two attendant spirits, Nadyr and Abyshog, and says :

"Praesto, all my charms attend :
Ere this night shall have an End,
You shall this Cobler's Wife transform,

And to the Knights the like perform ;
 This bed, the Cobler's Wife I'll charm,
 The Knights into the Cobler's Arm ;
 Let the delusion be so strong,
 That none shall know the right from wrong.
 The non-con Parson so affright
 That he may ever rue this Night ;
 Scare him from his little Wits,
 And his Hypocritick Fits."

Nadyr and Abyshog :

" All this, this Night we will perform,
 In a whirl-wind, in a Storm,
 In Lightning and in Thunder."

Doctor :

" Fly
 And muster all the Clouds i' th' Sky :
 Attend me till the Dawn of Day,
 And then you may go sport and play."

The next scene shifts us to the dining room of the Hall place, where Sir Richard is greeting his friends, Mr. Rowland and Mr. Longmore, who have come for a hunting visit. Upon asking after Lady Lovemore, Sir Richard informs them that his wife is a perfect vixen: but that to-night is her last night's reign, as her father is coming in the morning to take her away on a separate maintenance agreement.

Act II begins with a meeting of the servants, who relate how my Lady thought Noddy, the drunken parson, had a fit of apoplexy and therefore had a hot frying pan held over Noddy's head, his pate shaved bald, and a caustic plaster placed between neck and shoulders to raise blisters. Then the servants dress up in the shape of dogs, bears, etc., hang iron chains about themselves and in scene 2 enter Noddy's bedroom, where they frighten the life out of the parson, handle him roughly, and extract from him a confession of hypocrisy and gluttony. In the midst of it all, a terrible storm arises outside, and presently appears in the room one of the doctor's spirits, who offers Noddy a fried toad to eat.

The servants flee in terror, and Noddy runs roaring out into the arms of Sir Richard and his friends, who lock him up. Upon this the spirits, Nadyr and Abyshog, reenter and tell how the transformation is now complete, my Lady being in the cobbler's hut and Nell occupying her place at the Hall place, after which the spirits disappear. The next scene shows the cobbler's house, Jobson sings the "Wife of Bath," and upon my Lady launching out into a tirade against him, beats her soundly. A countryman then enters and assures Jobson that this is not my Lady but drunken Nell, so he straps my Lady again. The following scene is again at the Hall place, where Nell is in bed, soliloquizing upon her strange but delightful surroundings. The various servants enter to receive their commands for the day, and upon hearing Nell's gentle voice and gracious requests "they run jumping out" overcome with astonishment and delight at the change. Sir Richard and his friends enter and the servants "come jumping in" to tell of the wonderful change in their mistress' temper. Sir Richard is overcome with joy. He asks her if she really will now "go to Church with us, and leave the sniveling Conventicle." (Nell), "Yes, surely Sir, I'll do what ere you please, I'll have nothing to do with Fanaticks, they are a Melancholy ill condition'd People." Sir Richard then tell his joy to his friends and servants and proclaims a "jubilee for three months." Musicians enter and Sir Richard sings a lively song, which he had composed, during the lifetime of his first wife, in praise of married life. In the midst of the rejoicing Noddy comes in, wrapt in his nightcap, and cries out "What meaneth this lewd noise; this most prophane abominable jiggling"? He is sternly reprimanded by Sir Richard; then he appeals to Nell (whom he takes for his patroness, my Lady), but gets no encouragement from her, upon which he remarks, "What's this, she is not as she was; *Jampridem*

mulieri ne credas ne mortuae quidem." They then thrust him out. In the next scene Lady Lovemore's father (a puritan) enters, and is quite upset by Nell kneeling to ask his blessing: "What meaneth this, tis Superstitious, and savors of idolatry"? All then retire to dinner. The cobbler's house is represented in the next scene, where Lady Lovemore, deserted and miserable, has to endure Jobson's rough treatment as best she can until chance offers an escape, when Jobson goes out to share in the merrymaking at the Hall. As the guests sit at dinner, my Lady suddenly bursts in and begins to act the fury and vixen as of old, but nobody recognizes her, not ever her father and her chaplain Noddy. Sir Richard is greatly amazed at this strange mix-up, and doesn't know what to do, suspecting witchcraft in it all. At last my Lady in despair breaks out—"What in the Devil's name was I here before I came hither! that I should come hither and find that I was here before I came is the strangest thing to me." This incoherence utterly dumbfounds the good Sir Richard, and he is not a whit relieved when Jobson enters and Nell cries out, "O Lord, I am afraid my husband will beat me that am on yonder side!" Jobson explains that his wife (as he supposes) has been drinking with a conjuror at his house last night, and has not yet recovered from the effects, so Sir Richard bids him lead her gently out, saying, "she may be cured of this." Jobson replies yes, "I will cure her with this strap," upon which Nell cries out from the other side of the room, "Hold, hold, pray, do not beat me, Zekel." Sir Richard then thinks that Nell is crazy also, and the maids leads her out too. The father of my Lady, disgusted with it all, takes his departure.

At this juncture the doctor enters and explains the whole matter. My Lady, repentant, is restored a submissive, gentle wife to her husband. Noddy is dismissed and Nell

is restored to Jobson, together with a handsome sum of money from Sir Richard. The play ends with all joining in a general rejoicing.

Such is a synopsis of the farce. The *Dictionary of National Biography* is in error in stating the date of the performance of this play. The quarto, indeed, was not licensed until March 30th, 1686; but a reference to the play is found in the preface to D'Urfey's *Banditti* (licensed March 1st, 1686) where the author says: "Jobson's wife is now a much better character than Sempronia or Abigail." Jevon's play, then, must have been on the boards before March 1st, 1686, at the latest. It is now in order to point out that whether Jevon wrote the farce or not, the phraseology contained therein is certainly Shadwell's. Passing over the various classical references found in the dedication and in the preface, (which one would hardly expect to emanate from a comedian of Jevon's type), and bearing in mind that Shadwell wrote no comedy between his *Lancashire Witches* and the *Squire of Alsatia*, it is worth while comparing the phraseology of these two comedies with that of *The Devil of a Wife*. First, the *dramatis personæ* of the *Lancashire Witches* and those of Jevon's farce:—

- [*Lan. W.*] "Sir Edward Harfoot, a worthy, hospitable true English Gentleman of good understanding and honest principles."
- [*D. of W.*] "Sir Rich. Lovemore, an honest country gentleman, belov'd for good old Engl. Housekeeping."
- [*Lan. W.*] "Bellfort, Doubty, two Yorkshire gentlemen of good estates, well bred and of good sense."
- [*D. of W.*] "Rowland, Longmore, Sir Richard's two friends."
- [*Lan. W.*] "Smerk,¹ Chaplain to Sir Edward, foolish, knavish, popish, arrogant, insolent; yet for his interest slavish."
- [*D. of W.*] "Noddy, a hypocritical fanatic parson, loves to eat and cant, Chaplain to my Lady Lovemore."

¹ It was Shadwell's description of this character which excited a great clamor against the whole play and moved the Master of the Revels to strike out a dozen lines of the dialogue.

[*Lan. W.*] "Susan, Housekeeper to Sir Edward."

[*D. of W.*] "Jane, Lady Lovemore's maid."

[*Lan. W.*] "Clod, a country fellow, a retainer to Sir Edward's family."

[*D. of W.*] "A countryman."

So much for Jevon's "originality" in the *dramatis personæ*. Next the phraseology found in the two texts:—

(*Lan. W.*) Act I, Sir Edw. "What fatal mischiefs have domestick priests brought on the best of families in England!

Where their dull patrons gave them line enough,

First with the women they insinuate,

(Whose fear and folly make them slaves to you),

And give them ill opinions of their husbands.

Oft ye divide them if the women rule not.

But if they govern, then your reign is sure."

(*D. of W.*) Act I, Sir Richard. "... nay I have married her Chaplain too, who was, I take, a Weaver, and ordain'd himself by virtue of outward *Grace*, and inward Knavery, have a care I warn you of a Bigot or Zealous Woman, for be she never so wicked, she will be always so full of spiritual *Pride*, She'll think you a Limb of Satan."

(Rowl.) "'Tis a just observation."

(Long.) "And for a *Chaplain*, I would as soon have a *Russian* in my house, for he must Govern or the wife will Rage."

(*Lan. W.*) Act I, Sir Edw. "I will advise and teach your master of art-ship . . . to add to your small logick and divinity Two main ingredients, Sir,—sence and good manners."

(*D. of W.*) Act I, Sir Rich. "You deserve it for a meddling, Coxcomb, go to your Book you ignorant Fop and reader and rely more upon good Sence, and less upon your new Light."

(*Lan. W.*) Act II, Sir Edw. "Gentlemen, the storm has obliged me that drove you under my roof; I knew your fathers well: we were in Italy together."

(*D. of W.*) Act I, Sir Rich. "Well my dear Friends, though you have found my House in some disorder, I cannot but rejoyce to see you, the sight of Friends will lighten great afflictions."

(Rowl.) "Some years have passed, since we have been merry together."

(Long.) "We have not met these five years: Marriage, Travel, Business, and your Retirement, have thus separated us."

- (*Lan. W.*) Act V, Sir Edw. "None but the vilest sports will make their sports their business."
- (*D. of W.*) Act I, Sir Rich. "Methinks there's a Pleasure to see 'em hit off at a fault, as there is in a hard riding." . . . "I spare my horses today which made me come home so soon."
- (*Lan. W.*) Act V, Sir Jeff. "Heaven! what a Storm is this! The witches and all their imps are at work."
- (*D. of W.*) Act I, Job. "What has the Devil been about to Night? I never heard such Thunder Claps and such a Storm. . . ."
- (*Lan. W.*) Act V, Chaplain. "Good sire, continue me your chaplain, and I will do and preach whatever you command me."
- (Sir Edw.) "I'll not have a divine with so flexible a conscience. . . . But she has served me well, and I will give her a farm at 40 £ per annum. Go sire, it was an office you were born to."
- (*D. of W.*) Act V, Sir Rich. "Go Hypocrite, I discard thee. . . . Give him ten Pound, and in the morning send him packing; here Jobson take thy fine wife."

The reader's attention is now directed to a comparison between passages found in *The Devil of a Wife* (1686), and Shadwell's *Squire of Alsatia* (1688). First the *dramatis personæ* of the two plays :—

- (*D. of W.*) "Sir Richard Lovemore, An honest Country Gentleman belov'd for good old *Engl.* Housekeeping. (Mr. Gryffin.)"
- (*S. of A.*) "Sir Edward Belfort, A man of great Humanity and Gentleness and Compassion towards Mankind; well read in good Books, possessed with all Gentlemanlike Qualities. (Mr. Griffin.)"
- (*D. of W.*) "Noddy, A Hypocritical Phanatick Parson, loves to eat and cant, Chaplain to my Lady *Lovemore*."
- (*S. of A.*) "Scrapeall, A hypocriticall, repeating, praying, Psalm singing, precise fellow, pretending to great Piety, a godly knave," etc.
- (*D. of W.*) "Lady Lovemore, . . . A Perpetual Fixen and a Shrew, . . ."
- (*S. of A.*) "Mrs. Termagant, . . . A furious, malicious, and revengeful Woman, . . ."

The parallel passages from the two texts, which now follow, are, in my opinion, of much significance :—

- (*D. of W.*) Act III, Noddy, "He that wears a brave Soul, and dares honestly do,
Is a Herrald to himself and a Godfather too."
- (*S. of A.*) Act I, Hackum sings, "He that wears a brave Soul, and dares honestly do,
Is a Herald to himself, and a Godfather too."
- (*D. of W.*) Act III, Noddy, . . . "pledge me all of you, and let every Bumper be a facer thus. . . . (They drink off their Glasses and Huzzah.)"
- Serv. "Is that a facer, faith 'tis very pretty."¹
- (*S. of Al.*) Act II, Belf. Sen. "Ay, and i faith I'll drink it, pretty Rogue."
- Sham. "Let them be *Facers*."
- Belf. Sen. "Facers! what are those?"
- Sham. "There's a *Facer* for you. (Drinks the Glass clear off, and puts it to his Face.)"
- Belf. Sen. "Excellent, acad! Come to our *Facers*." (All do the like.) "It is the prettiest way of drinking: Fill again, we'll have more *Facers*," etc.
- Belf. Sen. "Give the Rogue a Facer to my Mistress. Come fill about the *Facers*. Come on my lads, stand to 't. Huzza! I vow, 'tis the prettiest way of drinking, never stir."
- (*D. of W.*) Act II, Sir Rich. "Here's a Turn; here's a Hypocritical Rogue, I think we shall have *Ovid's Metamorphosis* in this House. . . ."
- (*S. of A.*) Act II, Belf. Jun. "I am struck with Astonishment! Not all *Ovid's Metamorphosis* can shew such a one as this."
- (*D. of W.*) Act I, Sir Rich. "Oh Gentlemen, I would be glad to have the Witch of *Endor* were she alive instead of her. . . ."
- (*S. of A.*) Act IV, Tru. . . . "but I had as lieve have had a *Lancashire Witch*. . . ."
- (*D. of W.*) Act I, Butler. "I that have lived five and forty year in the House, and had for twenty years preserv'd a reverent Beard, which made me noted for Wisdom and Discretion through all the Countrey, and she to demolish this poor Beard in an instant; . . . I saved nothing but this same one Sprig, that grew upon a Wart, and that by my Naile. . . . Ay, I am become a shame to my Neighbours and dare not show my

¹ This instance of the word "facer" is earlier, obviously, than that in the citation given in the *New English Dictionary*, which is taken from the *Squire of Alsatia*.

Chin before 'em : Oh that Beard, that poor Beard, what Authority it had amongst them !”

(*S. of A.*) Act V, Hack. “I have lost the best Head of Hair in the *Fryers* ; and a Whisker worth Fifty Pound, in its intrinsick Value to a Commander. . . . I am as disconsolate as a Bee that has lost his Sting ; the other Moiety of Whisker must follow : Then all the Terror of that Face that us'd to fright young Priggs into Submission. I shall now look but like an Ordinary man.”

(Epilogue to *D. of W.*, spoken by Mrs. Percyval, who became later Mrs. Mountfort) :

“Whilst all these lofty Frigots you attackue,
Pray let in safety pass this little smack.
Your shot 'gainst us will wast 'ith empty sky,
The whistling bullets o'er our heads will flye ;
We lye so low your Cannon mount too high.”

(Epilogue to *S. of A.*, spoken by Mrs. Mountfort) :

“Ye mighty Scowrers of these narrow Seas,
Who suffer not a Bark to sail in Peace,
But with your tire of Culverins ye roar,
Bring 'em by th' Lee, and rummage all their Store :
Our Poet duck'd and looked as if half dead,
At every Shot that whistled o'er his Head. . . .”

In conclusion I should like to present the following parallel passages, all of which are chosen from plays of Shadwell which appeared *after* Jevon's *Devil of a Wife*. From these comparisons the reader will see that the phraseology is surely Shadwell's and not Jevon's.

(*B. F.*) Act II, “He may say as Caesar did, *Veni, Vidi, Vici.*”

(*D. of W.*) Motto on title-page, “*Veni, Vidi, Vici.*”

(*B. F.*) Act II, Bell. “They are Fops, Ned, that make a Business of Sport. I hunt with my Harriers half a dozen Heats in a Morning, for Health and an Appetite : and at Dinner time, let 'em be in never such full cry, I knock off.”

(*Lan. W.*) Act V, Sir Edw. (already quoted).

(*D. of W.*) Act I, Sir Rich. (already quoted).

(*B. F.*) Act V, Aldw. “Call in the Fiddlers. I am transported ! I am all Air ! Sirrah, go you, and set the Bells a going in both Churches. Call in all my Neighbours : I'll have him hang'd thats sober Tonight. Let every Room in my House roar, that it may keep the Whole Town awake. Here are the Fiddlers : fall to dancing presently ; lose no time. Let all this Night be spent in Mirth and Wine.”

- (*D. of W.*) Act III, Sir Rich. "I am transported beyond my Senses : I hear proclaim a Jubilee to all my Family these three months : Summon in all the Countrey, I'll keep open house, send for my Fiddlers, Hoboys, Trumpets, and all Instruments of Joy ; let all the Bells in the Hundred Ring, let the Steeples Rock, and let the Ringers drink enough."
- (*The Scourers.*) Act I, Tope : . . . "Charge a Bill upon me, and I'll answer you in a couple of Brimmers of Claret at *Locket's* at Dinner. . . ."
- Act II, Tope. "Think on the Turbott and the Calvert Salmon at *Lockets.*"
- (*The Volunteers*) Act III, M. G. Blunt. "But these plain Fellows in lac'd coats, just such as you of the drawing Room and *Lockets* Fellows are now, . . ."

In the light of the evidence given in this chapter, the conclusion is hardly to be avoided that Shadwell, and not Jevon, was the man behind the pen which wrote *The Devil of a Wife*.

The second interesting event in the life history of this little farce occurred in 1730. In that year Charles Coffey, a stage writer, who had already brought out four or five musical farces with indifferent success, took hold of *The Devil of a Wife* and brought it out as a musical farce under the title of *The Devil to Pay*. Whincop's description of the play is well worth noting :¹—

"The Devil to Pay : a Ballad Farce, of one Act ; performed at first with great Success at the Theatre Royal in *Drury Lane*, and afterwards at every other Theatre, some times at three together in one Night, and has been oftener acted than any one Piece on the Stage : Mr. Coffey's name is printed to it, but it is a difficult Matter to say to whom it properly belongs to. The Foundation and best Part of it is a Farce of three Acts called, 'A Comical Transformation, or The Devil of a Wife,' wrote by Jevon the Player ; and some People doubted if that, at the Time it first came out, was not partly wrote by his Brother-in-law, Shadwell, the Poet Lawreat ; it was performed in the Year 1686. Forty-four years after, viz., in the year 1730, Mr. Coffey and Mr. Mottley took each one Act and a half of this Farce, and altering some parts of the Dialogue, and adding Songs,

¹ Whincop, *A Complete List of All the English Dramatic Poets*, etc., 1747.

called it a Ballad Opera, and gave it the name of 'The Devil to Pay.' It was performed in the Summer Season, in three Acts, but some part of it not pleasing, particularly the Part of a Non-conforming Pastor,¹ performed by Mr. *Chark* who had never acted anything before, it was cut shorter, that part left out, and so reduced to one Act, which was done by Mr. *Theophilus Cibber*, one new Song was added by his Father, Mr. Colley Cibber; another introduced that was wrote by Lord Rochester above fifty years before;² so that we see about six Authors concerned in this one little Piece."

The first quarto of Coffey's opera appeared in 1731,³ and the following lines are a description of a copy of the original quarto in the Harvard Library:—

(Title-page). "*The Devil to Pay: or the Wives Metamorphos'd. An Opera, as it is Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, By his Majesty's Servants. Written by the Author of the Beggars Wedding, In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora . . . Ovid. With the Musick, prefix'd to each Song. London, Printed for J. Watt's, at the Printing Office in Wildcourt near Lincoln's-Inn Fields. MDCCXXXI. Price One Shilling and Six Pence.*"

On the next page is a list of the forty-two songs which are distributed throughout the three acts of the text; then follows the Prologue, spoken by Theophilus Cibber: and after that the *dramatis personae*. The cast I give in full as it makes an interesting comparison with that of *The Devil of a Wife*.

Men.

Sir John Loverule	} An <i>honest Country Gentleman, below'd for his Hospitality.</i>	} Mr. <i>Stopelaer</i> .
Ranger		
Valentine	} His Friends.	{ Mr. <i>Wetherelt, Jr.</i> Mr. <i>Roberts</i>
Ananias		
Loverule.	} An <i>ignorant fanatick Parson, Chaplain to Lady</i>	{ Mr. <i>Charke</i>
The Lady's Father, <i>zealous for the good old cause.</i>		
		{ Mr. <i>Wetherelt, Sr.</i>

¹ The rôle in the *Lancashire Witches* which brought such a storm against Shadwell, and yet is repeated again in *The Devil of a Wife*.

² All the songs contained in the earliest one-act version which I have been able to see (dated 1748) are contained in the original 1731 text except Nos. 3, 4, and 15. I cannot identify these however.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug. 11, 1731.

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the songs are of a pretty poor quality, and sung at most inopportune moments. The success of the opera, however, was immediate. "Mr. Coffey," says Whincop, "and the other Gentleman concerned with him in altering Jevon's Farce, who did not choose to have his Name appear in it, could not expect the same advantages as from a new Play, and so instead of having the Third, they had not their Benefit till the three and thirtieth Night, and then paid seventy Pounds for it; *but there was a most prodigiously crowded House*, and chiefly in ready money, which shows how ready the Town are to reward those who have the good fortune to please them. I can by no means think that this Farce is to be put on a level with many others that have pleased very well, but have less Invention and less Wit than is in this, *all Jevon's*: besides it being enlivened by the Music, the Repetition of it shows its Merit, for tho' the Multitude are not always the best Judges of Dramatic Performances yet they are not always mistaken.¹ . . . Some severe Critics, but, at the same time ill-judging, have found fault with this Farce for the Improbability of the Fable of two Women being changed into each other, and say it ought not to please because it is so unnatural. . . . But the question is whether, upon a Supposition (and it is a Supposition very allowable in Poetry) that if these Women could be so changed, what they say and do then is Natural? And that it is so, the involuntary Applause that always attends them from the Boxes as well as the Upper Gallery sufficiently shews." It may be said in passing that the celebrated actress, Miss Rastor (or Kitty Clive, as she was best known) won her first laurels by her impersonation of the character of Nell in this farce, while Mrs. Jordan, who

¹ A remark quite suggestive of Lincoln's epigram a century or more later.

played the same rôle fifty years later, achieved no greater applause than when she acted the same part.¹

The last, and perhaps the most important period in the literary life of the farce, *The Devil of a Wife*, is its entry into the field of German literature. One cannot do better, perhaps, than describe its career in that foreign field in the words of the German scholar, Dr. Jacob Minor, who takes it up at the point where *The Devil of a Wife* has been transformed into *The Devil to Pay* ("der Teufel ist Los"): —²

"Caspar Wilhelm von Borck, als geheimer Rath (später Minister) in Berlin ansässig, welcher schon während seines Gesandtschaftspostens in London den Julius Cäsar von Shakespere in Versen übersetzt hatte, bearbeitete unter dem Pseudonym Buschmann im Jahre 1743 auch den 'Teufel' von Coffey in ziemlich wörtlicher Uebertragung für die deutsche Bühne. Die Schönemannsche Truppe, welcher er das Manuscript zur Verfügung stellte, gab das Singspiel am 24. Januar 1743 zur Feier des Geburtstages König Friederichs II. Die englische Musik des Originals wurde beibehalten, die Arien einstimmig und ohne Musikbegleitung vortragen. In Berlin fiel die Operette zwar gänzlich durch, aber in Hamburg scheint sie grossen Beifall gefunden zu haben, und Schönemann gab das Stück zur Michaelismesse 1750 sogar in Leipzig."

In 1752 the theatrical manager Koch came to Christian Felix Weisse and asked him to translate the opera for his troupe. Weisse consented and made a pretty free translation of *The Devil to Pay*, introduced many original songs (or rather the words to the songs), and, finally, the first violinist in Koch's troupe composed entirely new music for Weisse's songs. The first performance took place on October 6, 1752, and its success was enormous, increasing still more the next year on account of the savage attacks made upon it by Gottsched and his party. The opera spread to France,

¹ Genest records a performance of the farce as late as 1828.

² *Christian Felix Weisse und seine Beziehung zur deutschen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, von Dr. J. Minor, Innsbruck, 1880.

and in 1756 Sedaine translated it for the French stage.¹ Weisse probably read this French translation during his stay in Paris, and used it for the new edition of his own translation, which appeared in 1766. Hiller wrote the music for this latter text, and the airs became so popular that one heard them sung as far south as Naples. As a result of this popularity, and to protect his work from piracy and corruption, Weisse published the opera in 1768 under the title, *Die verwandelten Weiber oder der Teufel ist Los.*² *Eine komische Oper in drey Aufzügen.*

Lack of space forbids giving a complete description of Weisse's opera, but the *dramatis personae* may be of interest for the sake of comparison with that of *The Devil to Pay* and *The Devil of a Wife*:—

“Personen.

Herr von Liebreich, ein Landesedelmann.

Frau von Liebreich, dessen Gemalinn.

Jobsen Zeckel, ein Schuhflicker.

Lene, dessen Frau.

Mikroskop, ein Zauberer.

Kellner,

Koch,

Kutscher,

Bedienter.

} des Herrn von Liebreich.

Hannchen,

Lieschen.

} Mädchen der Frau von Liebreich.

Andreas, ein blinder Musikante.

Verschiedene Bediente, Unterthanen und Nachbarn des Herrn von Liebreich.

Etliche Geister.

Der Schauplatz ist bald in des Herrn von Liebreichs Hause, bald in des Schuhflickers Wohnung.”

¹ It appeared in print in 1770 with the title: *Le diable à quatre ou la double metamorphose, Opera comique en trois actes.* An 1829 reprint shows many alterations from the English original.

² The earliest text I have seen is that of 1778, although the Leipzig city library possesses a copy of the 1768 edition.

Weisse's translation contains three acts, but they are not divided according to the original 1731 text of *The Devil to Pay*, and the dialogue and songs are materially altered. The rôles of the non-conformist parson and the two friends of Sir John Loverule are entirely omitted,¹ the musician Andreas is given a much more important part, several scenes are inserted which are found only in later editions of Coffey's opera, while other scenes are entirely original with Weisse.

Such is the history of the little Restoration farce, *The Devil of a Wife*. When we recall the noted actors and actresses who played its parts—Will Mountfort, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Kitty Clive, Theophilus Cibber, and Mrs. Jordan—and when we consider that such men as Shadwell, Colley Cibber, Weisse, Gottsched, Nicolai and Lessing all had a share in its history, it hardly seems too much to consider the play as an interesting link between our English Literature of the Restoration period, and that of Germany in the eighteenth century.

ALFRED E. RICHARDS.

¹ The parson's rôle was first omitted, as already mentioned, by Theophilus Cibber.